

This paper will be divided into 3 sections.

Section 1: Political Ideation and individual liberation:

In this section I look specifically at the period between 1961 and 1980s in Tanzania. A 20 year period when the consolidation of the state, the nation and the creation of citizen is paramount. Key to this period is the *consolidation* of the individual within the state brought together by the idea of the territorial nation.

It is within the framework of consolidation of the individual citizen and the state that I approach Julius Nyerere's formulation of adult education post independence. Three key aspects are important in understanding the place of adult education in Tanzania; a) Development (industry and land) b) Democracy (state and citizen). Adult education during the pre Structural Adjustment period must be understood as part of this discourse. To create an individual who had a *stake* in the state as the harbinger of political autonomy, sovereignty and liberation and in national development.

To do so I pose that we not look at adult education in a compartmentalized fashion, analysing policies and specific institutions but rather as a part of developing a political vision, what kind of citizen? What kind of development? And what kind of consolidated nation was possible.

This approach allows us to understand adult education in Nyerere's vision as part of a broader political project-training individuals in the idea of liberation and autonomy but very much *within* the political vision of the state. I look at Nyerere's speeches and various other materials on state and democracy during this time to anchor adult education in the broader political framework.

Section 2: The contradiction of pedagogy from above and pedagogy from below

I propose that here in lies the contradiction. The contradiction is two fold first the tension between the creation of a citizen integrated into the state at tension with autonomous and sometime critical democratic spaces outside the state and second the tension between a state organized working people' s collective and a class consciousness. Nyerere' s vision of adult education anchored both democratic praxis and developmental goals within the structures of the state, cantered in the state and not in public discourse. I will locate this primarily on the question of pedagogy as centred in the state and questions of development and *Ujamaa* and Paulo Freire' s discourse on pedagogy as one rooted in exploitation from below.

As such

- 1) what kind of material was taught in the adult education classes?
- 2) Who was involved in the classes
- 3) Did literacy go beyond simply reading and writing?

Second;

- 1) How did Nyerere talk about adult education?
- 2) How did he envision its political integration
- 3) What was the vision of the state and nation building during this time?

This section will conclude that the contradictions that arose between state vision of adult education praxis were reflective of a larger political tension of newly independent nation building and the creation of a political subject.

Section 3:

This section will address the post 1980s moment that begins to explain the contemporary relevance or disintegration of education in general. I will discuss two aspects of this period.

- 1) The post 1980s moment ushered in the neoliberal era through Structural Adjustment programs linked to the debt crisis. Education and social/public institutions were first of those to be attacked and privatized. Where direct privatization did not happen, social institutions became the realm of the development sector in what Gregory Mann has called *non-governmantality*. While the state was not directly involved education, including adult education was no longer anchored in a political vision but fragmented as an issue-based discourse. The fragmentation of the social space, emptied out of a political vision led to reorganizing social mobilization as vying over resources rather than as restructuring society towards a liberatory vision. In this part I will discuss the pitfalls and problematics of relying on SDG goals, UNESCO guidelines and NGO driven discourses on arbitrary liberal visions not anchored in the material realities and class organization of Tanzanian society.
- 2) I would like to further pose that the 1980 moment is not an arbitrary point of destruction from socialism to neoliberalism. The very contradictions that we addressed in section 2 are key to creating a ground of exploitation. The failure to allow movements and discourse to build from below is what created fertile ground for further exploitation by imperialist forces. Without a consolidated vision, grievances that were dismissed territorializing mobilization within the state all led to an essay fragmentation by various neoliberal players. The question then becomes not only what kind of state driven political vision was needed to form a formidable resistance by the working people but also what kind of class consciousness of exploitation from below curbed under the post independence period.

